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ELEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT.

THE year now closed, though chequered with events apparently adverse, has been a year of decided prosperity to the cause of peace. None of its distinguished friends, no Bevans or Bogue, no Worcester, Grimke or Watson, has been called from his earthly toils to the peacemaker's reward in heaven. The cause, though still misconceived by many, and fully appreciated by few, has been gaining, both at home and abroad, a stronger hold on the public mind. Apathy, prejudice and misconception, are vanishing. Curiosity is waking; a spirit of inquiry is abroad; discussion is on foot; and men begin to hear, and read, and think. The war-alarms of the year have turned attention to the subject, and enlisted new allies in the cause. Far too little has been done or attempted in its behalf, yet more than during any previous year. Reports from our foreign co-workers have been more than usually encouraging; and our own operations have been more extended and efficient than ever before—more money contributed or pledged, more agents employed, more labor performed, more publications issued, and more important results accomplished.

FOREIGN OPERATIONS.

We are not apprized of all the efforts made in other countries for the promotion of peace; but we have, during the year, heard more or less of such efforts in England, France, Switzerland, and some other parts of Europe. From France, so deeply disgraced by her wanton and barbarous outrages upon Mexico, we expected little or nothing; but we know that the Society of Christian Morals has, from its origin, made peace one of its leading objects, and done something, though little in comparison

with what needs to be done, for the diffusion of pacific principles. In Switzerland, much more has been done under the auspices of Count de Sella; but in England, the friends of peace have for the last ten or fifteen years been more untiring, if not more successful, than those of any other country, in their efforts for the advancement of this heavenly cause. After confining themselves for more than twenty years to the diffusion of intelligence through the press alone, with the exception of gratuitous services occasionally rendered in lecturing by distinguished friends of the cause, they have at length employed an able and devoted agent to traverse the kingdom, lecture in the principal places, and organize auxiliaries. They also published the last year 60,000 copies of different works; an amount of matter equal perhaps to 2,000,000 tract pages of the ordinary size, and making, in all, since the commencement of their operations, some 30,000,000 such pages. These publications, some of them the ablest that are to be found on the subject in any language, have been scattered more or less in the four quarters of the globe, especially at missionary stations.

The peace reform is sufficiently difficult among ourselves; but in England, and on the continent of Europe, these difficulties are greatly increased. The war-system there environs, and pervades, and moulds almost every thing. It is the mainspring of government; at once its chief support, and its heaviest burden. It sends its influence through all the ramifications of society. "Our habits as a nation," says one of our English correspondents, "have been warlike for ages. Our foreign possessions are numerous, found in every quarter of the earth, and exposed to encroachments and invasions of other powers. This renders it necessary, in the opinion of our government, to keep up an armed force by sea and land to protect those colonies. Many other considerations at present operate most powerfully with us to keep up the old notion

of the bravery and honor of a soldier's life. Commissions are bought in the army and navy. Both are considered as honorable situations for the sons of gentlemen and noblemen, and likewise for professional men in the practice of physic, yes, and the sacred office of the ministry too. Then we have our dock-yards; places where thousands of men are employed, many officers with handsome incomes, and doctors and chaplains for them."

HOME OPERATIONS.

Agents.—Our own efforts, like those of our English brethren, have been devoted mainly to the diffusion of intelligence through the press; yet have there been during the year three laborers constantly in our service,—our President in the capacity of General Agent, whose gratuitous, incessant labors have been extended from Maine to Washington; our Corresponding Secretary, who has lectured every week, besides superintending the correspondence and publications of the Society; and the Rev. John Lord, whose time has been spent chiefly in Vermont and New York. These servants of the cause have, during the year, travelled more than 10,000 miles, and delivered between seven and eight hundred lectures and addresses in eleven different States. They have very generally been welcomed with cordiality, and aided in their movements, by ministers and Christians of nearly every denomination. Though the purses were too often closed, pulpits were almost invariably open, to their appeals; and we trust there has thus been scattered broadcast over the land such seed as will eventually bring forth a rich and glorious harvest.

Auxiliaries.—We have never been disposed to press the formation of auxiliaries, though glad to see them spontaneously multiplying. Several have been thus formed during the year, from some of which, especially that in Philadelphia, we hope for much effective aid.

Other co-workers.—Anxious to supersede as far as pos-

sible the necessity of employing regular agents, we have sought the gratuitous, incidental services of pastors as local agents, and urged ministers of every name to preach peace as a part of the gospel, just as they do repentance and faith. In these two ways we may perhaps have secured nearly as much service for the cause, as from the joint labors of our three agents, and a large amount of good both to ministers and churches. We have also used the periodical press, both religious and secular, for the diffusion of pacific sentiments; and we rejoice to find the number of our coadjutors increasing among a class of men who exert so much influence as editors in moulding public opinion on all topics of great interest. Were we to specify any of the scores of papers that have published more less on this subject, we should mention the New York Observer, the Boston Recorder, the Christian Mirror, the Christian Watchman, and the Morning Star.

Publications.—From Capt. Thrush, whose evangelical views of peace led him to resign his commission in the British navy, we have received fifty copies of his able work on war. The London Peace Society have presented us about 4,000 of their publications; a donation of great value. The friends of the late Dr. Worcester, chiefly in this city, have purchased for our use all the remaining numbers of the *Friend of Peace*, so ably edited by that patriarch of the cause in our country, about 12,000 copies in all. From the sisters of the late Hon. Thomas S. Grimke, we have received an additional donation of 200 copies of *Dymond on War*, with his able notes; and we have ourselves published 1000 volumes of *Hancock on Peace*; 23,000 tracts, and about 35,000 copies of our periodical and last report; a sum total of publications issued ourselves, or procured by donation and purchase, exceeding in the amount of matter 3,000,000 tract pages; and, if we add what we have caused to be published in the newspapers of the day, it would probably swell the

sum to more than 5,000,000. All this we acknowledge to be a mere fraction of what ought to have been done; yet it is considerably more than was ever done in any preceding year.

Funds. — Our cause still languishes, as it always has, for want of the means indispensable to a vigorous prosecution of its work. Our last report acknowledged \$750 in legacies; but this year we have received nothing in this way, though the report of our Treasurer shows an amount of actual receipts nearly equal to those of the preceding year, besides about \$1700 subscribed for the Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations. No small part of our efforts has been expended in ways that could not be expected at present to bring any thing into our treasury.

Economy of our operations. — We doubt whether any other cause could have been kept in existence by such a pittance of pecuniary means. Our society received, during its first five years, an average of less than \$400 a year; its resources the last year were only a little more than \$3,600; and, during the year just closed, there has not been cast into our treasury enough to pay, at the ordinary rate of expense, for one half, if for one third, of what has been done. To say nothing of the one or two thousand ministers we may have prompted or aided to plead the cause of peace; nothing of the large amount of matter we have prepared or procured for the press; nothing of the seven or eight hundred lectures delivered, and the three years of hard labor performed by our agents; nothing of what we have done to bring before the nation and the world the great subject of an international tribunal; to say nothing of all this and much more, the bare printing of the matter got by our instrumentality before the public through the press alone, would cost, at only one mill a page, more money than all we have received during the year.

Our general course. — It is vain to hope, at such a day as this, for universal approbation in the management of

any enterprise of reform. The spirit of old Procrustes is abroad; and wo to the man that is either too long or too short for his iron bedstead. Some have complained of us for going too far; others have reproached us for not going far enough; and, when assailed by such opposite ultraists, we have found in ourselves evidence enough of having taken, if not a happy medium, yet surely one that exposed us to the fires from both extremes. Still we have held on our course along the path marked out by our society years ago, and have endeavored to open, and keep open, a way for the consistent, harmonious, effective coöperation of all that are willing to labor in earnest for the abolition of war.

One occasion has called upon us during the year for renewed explanation. After the convention in this city which organized the New England Non-Resistance Society last autumn, we were extensively accused or suspected of the anti-government views, charged by so many upon that movement; and justice to ourselves and the community would not allow us to do less than to disclaim the responsibility thus thrown upon us, and to repeat the exposition, previously stereotyped, of our object, principles and measures. We have reason to congratulate ourselves on the result; for the cause of peace, in the common and only proper sense of the phrase, has become better known, and generally distinguished from the extraneous objects with which it was liable to be confounded. Our *sole* aim is *the abolition of war*; and war has hitherto been defined to be *a conflict between states or governments by force*. Thus does the cause of peace assume the existence of human governments, and seek merely to regulate their intercourse in all cases without the sword; but whether such governments have any right to exist, or, if they have, what laws they shall enact, or what penalties inflict, how they shall suppress mobs, and restrain other forms of lawless violence, or to what extent, if any, physical force is allowed by the gospel, or whether any human organiza-

tions, ecclesiastical, social or domestic, are consistent with Christianity, it is not for us, as friends of peace, to determine or inquire. Such points belong to our cause no more than to that of temperance or missions; and, however important in themselves, it is not for us, as a Society, either to hinder or promote their discussion, or assume any responsibility whatever concerning them. There is no need of confusion or misconception here. The question of war or no war, is certainly distinct from the question of government or no government; and, if any man will go with us for the entire abolition of war, we shall not stop to wrangle with him about his motives for so doing, or about his views on any other subjects. We shall heartily rejoice in the success of any and every effort for such an object; and should evil be mixed with it, we hope the providence of God will sift the wheat from the chaff, and cause the former to bring forth in the end an abundant harvest of good.

Congress of Nations.—The principle of reference to a third party must form the basis of such a tribunal as we propose for the final adjustment of all international disputes. The idea, so far from being Utopian or novel, is as old as civil government; and even this form of the principle was, at a very early period, carried into successful practice. We find it among the ancient Greeks in their Amphictyonic Council, and Achæan League. Even semi-barbarous tribes occasionally resorted to it for the settlement of their difficulties. It was imperfectly called into exercise in the hasty but extensive combinations formed to carry on the crusades, and still more fully developed in the efforts of a subsequent age to suppress the practice of private, feudal wars. The League of the Hanseatic towns, the confederacy of Switzerland, and the succession of devices to preserve what is called the *balance of power*, have given a still fuller, more perfect development of the principle. The fifty Congresses, held since

the middle of the seventeenth century, have familiarized it to the statesmen of Christendom, and done much, in concert with antecedent and contemporaneous influences, to prepare the way for a permanent Congress or Court of the civilized world.

Henry IV, of France, however questionable his motives, or objectionable his plan, revived this idea in his efforts for a grand confederacy of Christendom; but his assassination in 1610 frustrated his scheme, and left the principle itself to slumber during the greater part of two centuries. The idea, however, was not entirely lost or forgotten; William Penn, St. Pierre, and some others, wrote on the subject with much force; but it was not, till after the commencement of efforts in the cause of peace at the close of Napoleon's bloody career, brought again before the world as a well defined and practicable substitute for war.

We shall not pause here to discuss this great theme, but merely state, that it has ever been regarded with favor by the friends of peace as probably the measure to which their efforts would ultimately lead, for the pacification of the civilized world. We care not for the name, and little for the form; but we do insist on some permanent method of applying the principle of reference for the peaceful adjustment of all disputes between nations. We have long been laboring to prepare the way for a decisive movement on the subject. With this view it was brought in 1835 before the Legislature of Massachusetts, and a very favorable result obtained in 1838. The way was thus open for an auspicious appeal to Congress; and, at its last session, a large number of petitions from persons of the highest standing in society, church and state, were laid before the collected wisdom of the nation. We know not the precise number of petitions sent; but from the fact that thirty were started by one of our agents in a few weeks, and many were got up in response to our appeals

through the press, we suppose they must have been pretty numerous, perhaps as much so as we could have desired. They were received with favor; but the pressure of other claims, and the shortness of the session were alone sufficient to prevent any decisive action on the subject. Our President, who visited the Capital for the purpose, had interviews with the Chief Magistrate, and with members of his Cabinet and of Congress; but though respectfully received by those high servants of the people, he returned with the conviction stronger than ever, that the million must speak before their rulers will hear and act to any good purpose in behalf of this great philanthropic scheme.

Prize Essays.—We had hoped to publish these at an earlier date; but the process of obtaining the requisite number of subscriptions has been much slower than was expected. This laborious service has been performed almost entirely by our President in his extensive tours; and, though the list is not yet filled, the work will be put to press in a few weeks. It gives us pleasure to acknowledge the prompt and generous coöperation of the London Peace Society, whose committee have voted to become responsible for at least 250 copies of the work.

Events of the year.—Of these we cannot now take a full review; but not a few have occurred of a character to awaken much alarm and regret. The continuance of troubles along the borders of Canada; the protraction of our petty, but disastrous and cold-blooded war in Florida; the temporary conflict between France and Mexico, so much to the disgrace of the former; the internal broils of Spain, of Mexico, and of several States in South America; the sudden increase of fleets and armies among the leading powers of Europe, as if preparatory to some terrible collision; the fears and the rumors of war between Great Britain and Russia; our own difficulties with England, about the settlement of our Northeastern boundary;—all these events have conspired during the year to illustrate

the folly and madness of war, and to justify the opinion of Jefferson, that it is "*an instrument entirely inefficient towards redressing wrongs, and generally multiplies instead of indemnifying losses,*" if they do not confirm the sweeping conclusion of Franklin, at the close of our revolutionary struggle, that "*there never was a good war, or a bad peace.*"

Our border difficulties have brought out a new development of the war-mania. It is not ours to adjudicate the case; but its history is a striking commentary on the suicidal folly of a war-spirit, and a party-spirit. Here lay all the real difficulty; and, but for these, the matter might have been settled, twenty years ago, to mutual satisfaction. The controversy was itself a spawn of war. The treaty of 1783, defining our Northeastern boundary, was couched in such terms as formed, in the opinion of the British government, a plausible reason, at the close of our last war with England, for a disagreement which was referred first to joint commissioners sent to ascertain the line, and finally to the arbitrament of King William, of Holland. His award, not agreeable to either party, yet ultimately accepted by England, was rejected by this country, though it gave us nearly a full equivalent for the strip of land relinquished to Great Britain. The hope of power led each of the parties in Maine to make the question a political hobby; and, after bringing the nation to the brink of war with England, and wasting in war-measures more than the whole territory, awarded to England by the Dutch king, is fairly worth, the matter still remains in dispute. Had there been a High Court of Nations, like our national judiciary, to determine such points, or simply a code of international law prescribing how such boundaries should be settled, there could have been no danger of war in any event.

We will not now review the excitement of the last winter; but we cannot refrain from expressing our utter

astonishment at the fierce demand then made for an appeal to arms, as the only arbiter in the case. Not a few among us talked more like pagans and savages, than like Christians. It really seemed as if the vandalism of the dark ages had come back upon us at a leap. Not even a *religious* paper in all Maine could be persuaded to take a stand against her war-measures; many Christians there advocated the lawfulness of war for the vindication of her right to rule over a forest; some of her legislators and political editors avowed they would 'sooner see the whole State drenched in blood, and whitened with the bones of her citizens, than recede from the position they had taken;' and our grave senators in Congress made war-speeches that roused the rabble into wild bursts of applause, and boldly declared that 'the time for negotiation was past,' that 'we must now negotiate at the mouth of the cannon,' and that, 'right or wrong, they would support the State of Maine at all hazards.'

These abominable sentiments, to say nothing of others still more bloody from vulgar sources, met with few rebukes from the press, before our Executive Committee issued, in our name, "An appeal to the friends of peace throughout the United States," and the Massachusetts Peace Society held in Boston two public meetings, at which bold, decided speeches were made, and resolves passed condemning a resort to arms in any event of the pending controversy. Other efforts were made, which our limits do not allow us to specify. The friends of peace expect little credit for the influence of these movements made at a crisis when the voice of our greatest men was fierce for war. Advocates of peace were denounced as mean, dastardly traitors to their country; but it is quite remarkable, that the general tone on the subject was entirely changed in a few weeks; our political papers began strongly to advocate the very sentiments they had a few days before treated with utter scorn; and some of our statesmen recalled their war-speeches, and ridiculed the idea of

war in a case so easy to be settled by pacific means. Had the mass of the people in New England, or in Maine alone, been thoroughly imbued with the principles of peace, political wire-pullers could never have got up such a fever, and pushed us in their phrenzy to the verge of a war that would have injured each party a thousand times more than the bone of contention was worth. It was, after all, the voice of public opinion, partially pacific, that held the nation back from bloodshed; and the recollections of the past year should stimulate the friends of peace to redoubled exertions for the spread of such sentiments as shall ere-long render war in Christendom morally as impracticable as duelling is now in New England.

ADDRESSES.

REV. BARON STOW'S REMARKS.

Mr. Stow remarked, that from the Report of the Executive Committee, and from the addresses of gentlemen who had preceded him, he perceived it was taken for granted that Christianity is adverse to war. This was the light in which he understood it himself, and he supposed it to be so regarded by all readers of the New Testament. All admit that the practical application of the principles of the Christian religion would enable men to settle all disputes without an appeal to arms, nay, would prevent all disputes, and supersede the necessity of their adjustment. It is also admitted by all, that whenever the gospel shall universally prevail, then war shall be discontinued, and peace, gentle peace, reign in all hearts, and bless all lands.

But the inquiry will naturally arise, and probably has arisen, in many a mind during the last hour, "How happens it, if Christianity is adverse to war, that so many professors of Christianity have engaged in the work of human butchery?" If the question cannot be answered, as is sometimes the case, especially among Yankees, by asking others, yet it may be classed with other questions that are answered in the same way. Why did John Newton continue in the slave-trade (a horrid business), after his conversion to God? Why do so many truly pious men continue to hold their fellow-creatures as property? Why did good men, in former times, manufacture, and sell, and freely use intoxicating liquors? It will be readily admitted, that flagrant wrong with respect to one point may co-exist with a character in other particulars excellent. Good men put away sin as fast as it is discovered; and we have only to *show* them that any course which they are pursuing is wrong, in order to insure its abandonment. Hence, when the godly Newton *saw* the sinfulness of his business, he turned from it at once. And so with every